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Clubs

LONG-HANDLED CLUBS

The long club (*ua*), which is still carved on Easter Island as a curio, was both a weapon and a parade staff for chiefs. Roussel (190, p. 426) includes them among the usual weapons of the natives, but Thomson (215, p. 475) asserts that the *ua* "was carried as a bâton of office before the chiefs and used only for that purpose." Geiseler (87, p. 34) says that the *ua* were carried during walks or to meetings. I was told that they were used as badges of dignity.

The *ua* (fig. 5, *a*) is a long staff, the cross section of which is a flattened ellipse. The upper end is decorated on both sides by bi-fronted human heads with eyes of bone and obsidian. The forehead is high and crossed by curved ridges, representing hair. The cheek bones protrude and have a crescentic form; the mouth, narrow and long, is slightly in relief. In the lobes of the ears, plugs of wood or bone are carefully indicated. The staff widens toward the distal end where it is somewhat flattened and has blunt edges. The distal end is slightly curved.

In Bishop Museum there are two specimens of old *ua* (B3689, B3690) and 16 more modern ones. The largest *ua* in the collection is almost two meters long, but it is of recent date and shows the tendency of the islanders to exaggerate the size of their modern productions.

Suitable pieces of wood for making *ua* were exceedingly rare on the island. This is manifest in the crookedness of many specimens. Holes or knots in the wood were painstakingly filled with small plugs cut to fit. These precious ceremonial weapons were kept in sheaths of bulrushes and were preserved as carefully as the wooden images. Two specimens of these sheaths with *ua* in them are preserved in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge.

SHORT-HANDLED CLUBS

The chief weapon for hand-to-hand fighting was a short, heavy, wooden club called *paoa*, the handle of which was carved in the form of a human head or of a lizard. The principal varieties of these clubs are illustrated in figure 6.

Tepano believed that carved wooden images of lizards (*moko*) were clubs, and to support his belief he quoted a tale in which a hero knocks down demons with a *moko*. Geiseler (87, p. 37) found an analogous tradition and states that the *moko* served principally to defend houses and to expel intruders from the door. As figures of rats or lizards were stood on either side of the door, it is possible that they were occasionally used as weapons.

Wooden Swords

The modern natives manufacture wooden swords for trade with passing ships. No mention is made by early travelers of the use of such weapons, and

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they do not appear in extensive collections made in the last 20 years of the nineteenth century. The very form of these curios suggests a recent origin. In the Young collection of Bishop Museum there is a piece of wood (B3625) terminating in the head of an eel which appears to me to be the prototype of modern wooden swords. This specimen, called *puhi* and classified as a wooden club, is also flattened, has blunt edges, and is curved like a boomerang. Its rough workmanship denotes recent origin.

Comparison with other Polynesian Weapons

An obsidian point found in the Yodda Valley in the northern division of British New Guinea (200) resembles in shape the Easter Island *mataa*.

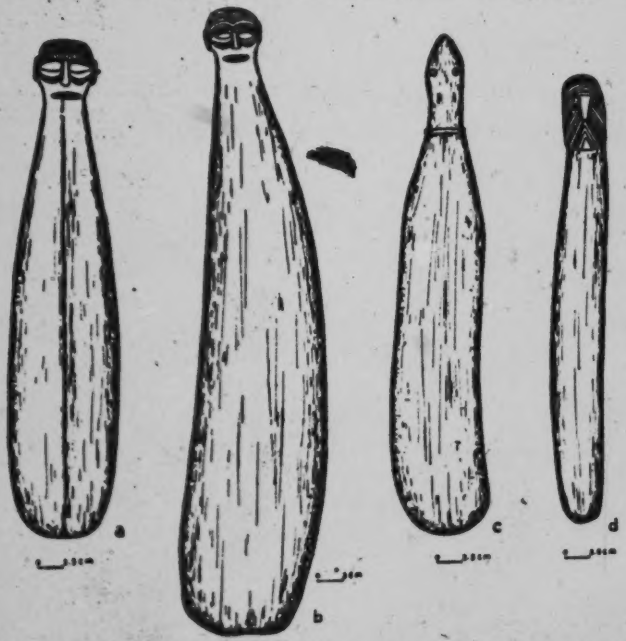

Figure 6.—Short-handled clubs (*paoa*): *a*, length 525 mm., greatest width 113 mm., head similar to that on *ua*, front surface of blade has median longitudinal ridge (B3619); *b*, length 623 mm., greatest width 114 mm. (B3618); *c*, length 530 mm., greatest width 103 mm., length of handle 110 mm., handle carved in lizard head, eyes made of ring of bone and obsidian inlaid in wood, one longitudinal edge and end blunt, one edge rounded (B3701); *d*, length 492 mm., greatest width 58 mm., length of handle 86 mm., probably modern curio, may have been used to beat fish to death, one side of handle carved in image, other side in rough human face and oblique lines, eyes protruding, nose indicated by long depression (B3702).

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and is slightly aquiline. The cheeks are flat. The lines extending from the alae of the nose to the mouth are well marked. The mouth is closed and the lips have an almost natural thickness. As a concession to the traditional pattern of the *moai kavakava*, all the female images wear goatees. The eyes consist of a bone ring with a piece of obsidian. The ears are conventionally represented by a carved spiral with distended lobe ending in an ear plug, the front surface of which is hollowed out. The neck is protruding. Two curved, low ridges on the upper breast mark the clavicles. The surface of the long breasts is slightly raised. The incised sex organ has the conventional appearance of the symbol found on many boulders throughout the island. 532

The backbone is indicated by a groove from the end of the neck to the bifurcation of the legs. The crests of the ilia are represented by two curved ridges which join at the vertebral column. This ridge ends in a lateral prominence that corresponds to the upper part of the thigh.

The arms are extremely long and thin, the right one is bent on the abdomen with the hand turned toward the left breast. The left arm extends along the body and the hand lies on the pelvic region and touches the vulva. The hands are narrow and elongated. The thumb, separate from the fingers, is turned backward. The incised hands are like those of the stone images in form and slenderness.

The legs are flexed, and thigh and leg are of almost the same thickness. The feet are extremely short and clumsy.

Female images are not common, but they belong to the old art of the island. The workmanship is too careful and the type is too uniform to be a recent development. Both the use and the value, symbolical or otherwise, of these images are unknown. These images never have a suspension hole as do the male images.

Grotesque Images

Tepano, a distinguished carver, was fond of making images that departed conspicuously from the normal type, giving them the appearance of ugly, monstrous beings, called *manu-uru* (kite, mask, or masquerading people). The Museum of Bremen (114, figs. 184-185) has two very old images, undoubtedly in the ancient style of the island, which represent real grotesques. One of them has a snoutlike, protruding mouth and a hump for the abdomen. The second is terribly contorted. In the two figures, some of the characteristics of the *moai kavakava* are respected, but many others are entirely disregarded. 322

The grotesque figure shown in figure 40 has a big head, a stout abdomen, and short feet. The ears are short and they alone are treated in the conventional style of the island. Incised lines form the hair on the top of the head and incised chevrons cover the wide eyebrows. The eye sockets are hollowed out and inlaid with bone and obsidian. The nose is almost straight, and there is a mustache on the upper lip. The shoulders are rounded and the shoulder blades protrude. The arms are separate from the body with the hands resting on each side of the abdomen. The workmanship is fair, and though the image is certainly post-European it is near that of ancient tradition. Another image of the same type, in the Young collection, is of purer style and represents a man crouching on the floor. But for extremely salliant clavicles, this image is carved in a most realistic fashion. Another image of the same thick-set type but feminine, preserved in the Museum of Lubeck, Germany (116, pl. 4, figs. 3-4), has the legs summarily treated and is apparently of a rougher style than the other two.

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171 533 festivals. They also attended feasts organized by the king or by chiefs to recite genealogies and chants in praise of nobility. They knew and transmitted to their pupils both sacred and profane lore (28, pp. 304-305).

In the Tuamotus the word *rongo* is applied to formal chants about the exploits or feats of a hero, recited by the *tahunga one*. *Rongo* is also the name of a "mourning chant for a deceased hero."

Reciters and chanters are familiar elements in the general pattern of Polynesian culture, but it is significant that it is only in the eastern part of Polynesia that we find the word *rongorongo* associated with a special class of bards.

171 212 533 The tablets of the Easter Island *rongorongo* were often sticks covered with symbols. In this connection it is important to mention that the *rongorongo* of Mangareva beat the measure with staffs (*kohau*) when chanting. In the Marquesas the ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* was a bundle of three *fau* stakes wrapped in cloth (104, p. 230). Maori orators always held clubs (*taiaha*) in their hands, without which they could not deliver a speech.

TABLETS

114 212 The wooden tablets, covered with rows of small figures, are a puzzle to science and constitute the most complicated problem of Easter Island culture. Though many hypotheses have been, or may be, presented to explain their significance, it is probable that the mystery will never be solved, for data are few.

[322] The so-called hieroglyphs or glyphs of the Easter Island script were incised with shark teeth or sharp obsidian flakes on boards, on sticks, and sometimes on wooden images or ornaments. In the Easter Island collection of Bishop Museum there are small obsidian points which may well have been used for this purpose.

Twenty tablets or fragments of tablets, scattered throughout institutions of the world, have been preserved and a corpus of all the known tablets is being prepared by Dr. Alan S. C. Ross.

The most important collection of all Easter Island tablets is preserved in the Museum de la Congrégation des Sacrés Coeurs de Picpus in Braine-le-Comte (Belgium). The four tablets kept there were collected by the first missionaries to Easter Island and were given to Bishop Tepano Jaussen of Tahiti. The largest one, called Tahua or the "Oar" is 90 cm. long and 14 cm. wide and has 1,547 signs. Another, called Aruku-kurenga, is 41 cm. long and 15.5 cm. wide. A third, called Mamari, is 21 cm. by 30 cm. In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, there are two tablets, only one of which is authentic. The other, 25.5 cm. long and 5.2 cm. wide, is probably a fake. (See 97, p. 101, fig. 1, pl. 10.) The little tablet in the British Museum, 21 cm. long and 7.3 cm. wide (58), is not ancient. The tablet made of apple-tree wood in the Lateran Museum, Rome (6442), is a crude fake. Two tablets in the Museum of Santiago de Chile were taken by the *O'Higgins* in 1870; one of these is 35 cm. long and 12 cm. wide, the other is 45 cm. long and 11.5 cm. wide. Two tablets purchased by Thomson in 1886 are in the National Museum, Washington. One tablet is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. There are two tablets in the Museum of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. One of these,

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went, and "the mother took two chickens, one in each hand, and the mother and children stood upright and the "maori sang"; they did not go to Orongo because there was war. A drawing was made for us by Juan and the old men of the poki-manu in ceremonial attire (fig. 114); it was particularly interesting to find, when it was handed in, that circles of white pigment were made on the child's back, and also on each buttock, in a way which recalls the adornment of the Anakena image (fig. 65).

Wooden Carvings

The stone sculpture of Easter Island belongs to an era which is now forgotten; there are a number of wooden carvings which, whatever their original age, are connected with a recent past, and even in a limited sense with the present.

The most important of these works, the tablets, have already been dealt with, and mention has been made of the lizard figures, they have the head of that animal on a human body (fig. 117). The "ao," the large dancing-paddle, and the smaller one, the "rapa," are of much the same character, though used on different occasions (figs. 116 (*a*), 118). The "ua" is a club, on the handle of which are two heads back to back; these clubs were dignified with individual names. The "paoa" was a wooden sword. There were also bird ornaments carved in wood which were worn on the last day of the koro and by Ngaara. The "rei-miro" is a breast ornament of a crescent shape, with a face at one or both ends; it is found depicted on the Orongo rocks and frequently on the tablets. It was especially a woman's decoration, but a number of small ones were said to have been worn by Ngaara. The specimen in the British Museum is embellished with glyphs, of which no account was forthcoming (fig. 115).

Wooden objects which are peculiarly interesting are the small male and female figures some twenty to thirty inches in height; the natives term them "moai," adding the word "miro," or wood (fig. 119). In a certain number of these the ribs are very prominent, giving the effect of emaciation; they are called "moai kava-kava," or the statues with ribs. It has been suggested that this represents the condition in which the first inhabitants reached the island, but such an explanation is

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strenuously denied by the present people, who assert that their ancestors arrived with plenty of food. The figures have long ears, like the statues in stone, and a marked feature is their little goatee beards. These beards are found in three or four statues at Raraku, in a head in relief on Motu Nui, and one is indicated in fig. 31. But the most striking link with the stone figures is the back, where there is a ring similar to that found on the larger statues: the girdle and M-like design below it also appear in varying degree (fig. 120). A comparative study of the backs of the wooden images has suggested the idea[1] that this M-like marking in stone may be simply the last stage of an evolution in design, which originally showed the lines of the lower portion of the back and thigh.[2] It would be satisfactory if, in the same way, the triple belt could be connected with the ribs and the ring with the vertebræ, but for this the evidence is less conclusive, although the ribs of the body with the lizard head closely approach the conventional. It must be remembered that the figures are nude, and that therefore these designs can scarcely represent any form of dress. There is a pronounced excrescence on the buttocks in the wooden figures, which is also a mystery, but which recalls the way in which the rings on the image found at Anakena (fig. 65) and those on the poki-manu (fig. 114) emphasise the same part of the anatomy. The heads are embellished with ornaments, some of which are bird designs (fig. 121). These figures were worn by men only, and hung round the neck on important occasions; they were parts of the festival dress at Mataveri and at the koro.

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The tradition of the origin of the wooden images is one of the best known and uniformly narrated, but obviously bears the marks of endeavouring to explain facts whose genesis has been forgotten. It runs thus: Tuukoihu, an ariki, and one of the first immigrants, was a clever man or "tangata-maori"; he had two houses, one at Ahu Tepeu on the west side and one at Hanga Hahavé on the south coast—the foundations of both are shown. One night, when he was sleeping at the latter dwelling, two female aku-aku appeared to him, by name Papa Ahiro and Papa

[1] We owe this suggestion to Captain T. A. Joyce.

[2] Those unacquainted with the manner in which the drawing of a natural object can, through constant repetition, lose all resemblance to it and become purely conventional are referred to *Evolution in Art*, by Dr. A. C. Haddon.

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FIG. 120.

[Brit. Mus.

1 2 3 4

BACKS OF WOODEN IMAGES.

Showing resemblance to stone figures and possible evolution of conventional design from natural lines of figure.

[facing p. 270]

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Akirani.[1] When he awoke he took the wood called toro-miro, and carved two figures with faces, arms, and legs, just as he had seen the aku-aku. When he had finished the work, he went over to Hanga Roa to fish. He slept there, and returned at daybreak, going back by the quarry of the stone hats. Two male aku-aku, by name Ko Hitirau and Ko Nuku-te-mangoa, were sleeping by the way, but were aroused on his approach by two more aku-aku, whose names are given, who told them that there was a man coming who would notice that their ribs were exceedingly "bad." The two sleepers awoke, saw Tuukoihu, and asked him, "Have you seen anything?" He discreetly replied "nothing," and they disappeared. They again met him on the road and put the same question, to which he gave the same answer. When he got to his house, he made two statues with ribs to represent the apparitions. After dark they prowled round the house, listening, with their hands up to their ears, to hear if he gossiped about what he had seen, intending if he did so to kill him. The Ariki, however, held his tongue. Later he went to his other home; there he took the wooden moai, both male and female, and made them walk. The house bears the lengthy name of "The House of the Walking Moai of Tuukoihu, the Ariki," and is the large one whose measurements were given on p. 216. Tuukoihu once lent a moai-miro to a man, whose house took fire while it was in his possession. The Ariki, on hearing of the disaster, told the image to fly away, which it promptly did, and was subsequently found in the neighbourhood unharmed.

Wooden figures are said to have been made in a considerable variety of forms, some of them being in a sitting position, others with hands crossed, etc.; names were bestowed on them—twenty-one such were repeated to us. It was not found possible to ascertain exactly what they are all intended to portray, the information being somewhat confused and contradictory, but on the whole the female figures and those with ribs seem to have been considered to be supernatural beings; they are generally called aku-aku, and sometimes atua, while the others represent

[1] The term "papa" is also applied to any flat, horizontal surface of fused igneous rock. The double use seems to be explained by connecting it with the facts that in Hawaii, Papa is the name of the female progenitor of the race (or at least of a line of chiefs), while in the Marquesas and Hervey Islands Papa is the earth personified, the Great Mother.—See *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, Alexander, p. 20.

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men. It appears probable that they are portraits, or memorial figures, of which the older may have attained to deification: this is confirmed by the fact that there is one such figure at the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, with short ears, which is said to have been made to represent Captain Cook.

When our friend Kapiera was a boy, there were about ten experts in the island, who made wooden articles of various descriptions, including the images, of whom three at least were alive in our time. Te Haha, who was one of the old workmen, could still be seen sitting in his garden engaged in carving moai miro. We have, therefore, a craft existing in modern days which can be traced back to pre-Christian culture, and which has strong affinities with the prehistoric stone figures. There is, of course, no sentiment connected with the figures of to-day; they are roughly done, and merely for sale. The trade is extended to copies of stone images which are bought by unsuspecting visitors, with circumstantial tales as to their history or discovery which would deceive the very elect. The statues on the ahu near the village, which are made of stone from Raraku, have had pieces cut off them to manufacture into these articles. One Kanaka had in our day a still more brilliant idea which saved him all trouble, he sold a fragment of this rock at a high price to a passing vessel as the "last morsel of image stone to be found in the island." Local opinion regarding the intelligence of the visitors is not high. One man brought to us a wooden figure for sale which he said was "very old." "Indeed," remarked my husband, "it has grown up quickly; it was a new-born infant when I saw it being carved in the village a few weeks ago." "Ah," said the proud possessor, slightly disappointed, but nursing his creation like a child and stroking it affectionately, "he very fine, muy antiqua, I keep him for ships; capitano man-o-wari, all same damn fool."

FIG. 121.—BIRD DESIGN FROM HEAD OF WOODEN IMAGE. (*Brit. Mus.*)